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A HISTORY OF THE UPPER GERMANTOWN BURYING-GROUND.

GERMANTOWN AVENUE (MAIN STREET) ABOVE WASHINGTON AVENUE.

BY PETER D. KEYSER, M.D.

At the time of the settlement of Germantown (1683–1695) there were really but two religious bodies or sects among the people—the Mennonites and the Quakers.

Their meetings for worship were for some years held in the houses of their members, and from what we can glean from the history of the place, the two sects are supposed to have at times worshiped together in the same house, until their separate meeting-houses were built.

During this time it is not known that any special plot of ground was laid out for the burial of the dead; and no doubt the bodies of those who died were deposited in their own grounds.

On the erection of the Quaker or Friends' meeting-house in 1705, and the church of the Mennonites in 1706, each building had its graveyard attached for the burial of its members.

After the year 1700 people of other denominations, such as Dunkers, Lutherans, etc., began to settle in the town and vicinity, and as there was no place in the upper part of Germantown as an open ground for any one of different religious views who wished to be buried in a regular graveyard, Paul Wulff, in 1724, granted one-half of an acre of ground situated at the upper end of Germantown, on the Main Street, above the Road to Abington or Keyser's Lane, to the corporation for a burying-ground.

Having received the lot, it was deemed necessary to put a stone wall along the front of it, and to meet the expenses of the same a subscription was taken among the inhabitants in money, labor, stone, etc. It was conditioned that all subscribers were to receive the right to bury in the graveyard at any time.

It was called the "Upper Germantown Burying Ground."

The front wall, on the main road, was begun in May, 1724, by Dirck Johnson and John Frederick Ax, and finished with the assistance in labor, money, or stone by Anthony Klincken, Henry Sellen, John Doederer, Paul Engel, Jacob Sellen, Elizabeth Kasdorp, Peter Sellen, John Cunrad, Margaret Tissen (Teisen?), Hans Reyner, Christian Bernman, John Strepers, Anthony Tunes, Garret Rittinghausen, Hans Sheele, Johannes Jansen, Wm. Delvees (Dewees), Michael Shell, Daniel Hower, Johannes Ravestock, Thomas Tibbens, Mathias Hoven, John George Pop, Dennis Cunrads (Tunis Cunders), John Am Wegh, John Carl Gress, Henry Holtzapple, Johannes Gumry, Claus Rittinghausen, Peter Keyser, John Gorgas, Hans Jerk Haas, Garret Peters, Cunrad Cunrads, John Nagly (Nagle?), Peter Shoemaker, Enken Koopman, Griffith Jones, Walter Simons, George Warmer, Claus Tomson, Catherine Hagman, Samuel Kastner, Christian Warmer, Christopher Witt, Sam[1] Guldin, Christopher Bastian, William Palmer, Bernhard Cepler (Kepler?), Frantz Neff, John Potts, Daniel Potts, Jonathan Potts, John Witt, Bastian Raefsnider, Hermanes Kuster, Adam Sell, Henry Leen (Löhn?), Johannes Vossen, William Jansen, Margaret Knecht, Conrad Kuster, Dirck Clever, Jos: Famer, Johannes Leen (Löhn?), Benjamin Morgan, Jacob Schimer, John Johnson, Daniel Geisler, Peter Leen (Löhn), Caspar Simon, Beulah Coates, Hans Jerk Trout.

"The sum of all the charges for the work comes to £40 8*s.* 4*d.*"

There is no account to be found of the burials in this ground from this time up to 1756, when a regular book was opened for the record of the same. Only seven tombstones are to be found of persons buried during this time.

1726. Catherine Machinetin.
1735. A. M.——geboren 1679—gestorben 1735.
1744. William Dewees.
1745. Mary, daughter of Catherine and Godfrey Lehman.
1747. William Palmer.
1747. Elizabeth Palmer.
1749. Christiana, wife of Wm. Dewees.

It seems that the plot of ground was given without survey or registered lines and boundaries, and as Dirck Keyser, who owned the land on either side above and below, had purchased the remaining Wulff tract behind that given by Paul Wulff for the burial ground, it was necessary to get the correct lines, so the 9th day of April, 1753, by the consent and approbation of the Freeholders of Germantown, the ground was properly surveyed and laid out, to remain forever, by Christian Lehman, the Surveyor of the Corporation, in the presence of John Frederick Ax, Ludwig Engelhardt, Conrad Frick, Dirck Keyser, John Channell, Richard Johnson, Richard Robb, Christian Warmer, Cornelius Engel, Peter Henssler, the committee of Freeholders appointed to witness the survey.

The back part of the lot was now enclosed by a post and rail fence, and the ground and accounts given in charge of John Frederick Ax as formerly, he having had the care thereof since the wall was built in 1724.

His first account of the funds from 1724 to 1756 was presented at a meeting of the subscribers held June 7, 1756. The sundry receipts and expenditures amounting to £7 7*s.* 10*d.* The account was audited and signed in the presence of Paul Engle, Christian Warmer, Rich[d] Johnson, & Christian Lehman.

John Frederick Ax becoming too old and feeble to attend to the ground and accounts any more, the subscribers at this meeting appointed Ludwig Engelhardt and Richard Robb to take charge and care of the same. It was during this time while under the care of Jno. Frederick Ax that the ground received the name of Ax's Burying Ground. This no doubt came from the association of his name as the superintendent, as well as being shorter to say Ax's burying-ground than Upper Germantown burying-ground.

At a meeting of the subscribers held May 30th, 1757, Ludwig Engelhardt and Rich[d] Robb presented and settled their account for the year, amounting to £0 12*s.* 0*d.* It was then concluded by the committee Peter Leibert, George Schreiber, Jacob Mayer, and Rich[d] Johnson, that Engelhardt and Robb

should continue to have the charge and care of the same graveyard for another year. On the 15th of May, 1758, Ludwig Engelhardt on behalf of himself and his companion settled the last year's account of the Upper Germantown Burying Ground, amounting to £1 6*s.* 0*d.*, in the presence of Christian Lehman, Peter Leibert, John Keyser, and Peter Keyser. As Richd Robb had removed from Germantown, George Schreiber was appointed to supply his place, who with Engelhardt, were to take charge of the ground for the next ensuing year. The continual repairs of the wooden fence on the back part of the lot were of such a character that the necessity of enclosing the whole in a stone wall was made manifest, and culminated in the following petition to the public:—

"Whereas necessity as well as saving a constant charge of supporting a wooden fence or Inclosure requires the entire closing in of the Upper Germantown Burying Ground with a stone wall round the back part thereof equal with the other wall of the same, and as the said work is for the benefit of the Publick, and requires a sufficient sum of money for that purpose should be raised, We the subscribers do therefore hereby our subscriptions promise and bind ourselves severally to pay each of us on demand towards the said work each his subscription money or sum as is subscribed to our respective names when demanded by the collector of the same for the purpose aforesaid.—Dated, Germantown, April 11th, 1760.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Leonard Stoneburner	1	0	0	Baltzer Trout	0	5	0
Ludwig Engelhardt	1	0	0	Christian Lehman	0	7	6
George Schreiber	0	10	0	Simon Litzenberger	0	10	0
John Keyser	0	10	0	George Pickkes	0	15	0
Peter Leibert	0	10	6	John Unverzagt	0	10	0
Peter Ax	0	7	6	John Bowman	0	12	0
John Engel	0	5	0	Martin Beck	0	7	6
John Keyser	0	10	0	Peter Keyser	0	5	0
David Sutton	0	4	0	Hans Nieslie	0	5	0
Chas. Wedderholt	0	3	0	Christopher Sower	0	15	0
Justus Fox	0	5	0	Alexander Mack	0	15	9
John Lehman	0	10	0	Philip Weber	0	10	0
Jeremiah Trout	0	5	0	Laurentz Sweitzer	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Henry Slingluff	0	6	0	Anna Meyer	0	5	0
Henry Weber	0	10	0	Adam Shissler	0	5	0
Henry Schneider	0	5	0	George Werner	0	5	0
Richard Robb	0	5	0	Christian (?) Duy	1	0	0
Cunrad Frick	0	7	6	Ulrich Podmer	0	5	0
John Knorr	0	2	0	Melcher Meng	0	2	6
Jacob Knorr	0	3	0	Christopher Buist	0	5	0
Peter Schmidt	0	2	6	Casper Shreiber	0	10	0
Henry Sharpneck	0	2	0	George Schwartz	0	5	0
John Kock	0	10	0	Jacob Dietrich	0	10	0
Jacob Schneider	0	10	0	Ulrich Sollinger	0	5	0
Henry Benzell	0	7	6	Paul Engel, Sr.	0	7	6
Simon Siron	1	10	0	Jacob Trout	0	3	0
Elizabeth Barns	0	10	0	John Neus	0	5	0
Jacob Engel	0	7	6	Peter Straub	0	7	0
Benj: Engel	0	10	0	Rudy Gettinger	0	4	0
John Engel	0	7	6	Mathias Nunnemaker	0	7	0
Cornelius Engel	0	5	0	Jacob Herrman	0	5	0
Richd Johnson	0	10	0	Baltzer Essig	0	5	0
Gottfried Bush	0	10	0	Conrad Good (Guth)	0	7	0
Christopher Jacoby	0	4	0	Adam Gellinger	0	3	9
Killian Wice	0	7	6	Christian Warmer	0	2	6
George Henssler	0	5	0	Johannes Stoer	0	7	0
Jacob Gensell	0	7	6	John Nicholas Henry	0	7	0
Thomas Duke	0	7	6				
Christian Schneider	0	5	0	Ammounting in all to	£29	13	0
Henry Meyer	0	5	0				

All settled Oct. 4th, A. D. 1760.

All of the above-named subscribers of two shillings and upwards have a right of burial in the said Burying Ground for themselves and their family, so that they always contribute towards the necessary repairs of the enclosure and appurtenances of s^{d} Burying Ground."

At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Germantown, held at the house of George Schreiber the 4th day of Oct. 1760, the wall was viewed, accepted and accounts settled. The total cost of which was £33 4*s.* 10*d.*

The care of s^{d} Burying Gr^{d} was for the ensuing year again committed to the s^{d} Ludwig Engelhardt and George Schreiber. It was thought fit by those so met, that strangers who have no right in the s^{d} Burying Ground and are in circumstances able to pay shall pay three shillings for each grave, but those

who have the care of the ground shall be the judges of the circumstances of the person, and it is left to their discretion either to take pay or not. All monies thus rec^{d} to be applied towards the keeping the ground, walls, &c., in repair. No colored person had as yet been buried in this ground, and the feelings of the subscribers upon this subject was very promptly expressed at a meeting held March 24th, 1766, occasioned by the request of Christian Warmer to bury his dead negroe child in the said burying ground.

"It was unanimously Resolved by the said Inhabitants: That as a separate lot of land of sufficient largeness situate on the Northwest side in Bowman's Lane in Lower Germantown, has several years ago by the whole Germantown Inhabitants been purchased on purpose for and as a separate and distinct Burying ground for all Strangers, and negroes and mulattoes as die in any part of Germantown;—

"That therefore henceforth no Negroe or Mulattoes shall be buried or suffered to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground nor on any part thereof on any pretence whatsoever,—nor any stranger but what by the overseers of the said Burying Ground for the time being shall in their judgment and discretion shall be judged suitable and be admitted to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground."

It must not be forgotten that slavery was at this time in Pennsylvania.

"At the same time Ludgwig Engelhard and George Schreiber (who these several years past, since the year 1760, have been the overseers of the said burying gr^{d}) were now unanimously again elected to be and continue to act as overseer of s^{d} gr^{d} until others are chosen in their stead.

That they and all succeeding overseers of s^{d} By^{l} G^{d} shall have full power to direct the order of graves, where to be dug of such as have as yet no particular Family spot or place in s^{d} g^{d} in order that a due and decent regulation of the rows and the order of graves in the s^{d} ground may be preserved.

Ent^{d} 24th Day of March 1766 by order of the Inhabitants.

CHRIST^{N} LEHMAN,
Clerk.

"The above was agreed on as above s^d^ as witness our hands."

Johannes Koch	George Schreiber
John Lehman	Ludwig Engelhardt
Jacob Traut	John Knorr
Jacob Engle	John Keyser
Peter Keyser	John Bowman
Jacob Knorr	Peter Leibert
Leonard Stoneburner	Conrad Guth
John Engle	

The front wall having by this time, after fifty-two years, become so badly in need of repair, it was deemed best to take it all down and build an entire new one. To meet the necessary expenses a subscription was made May 20th 1776, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Leonard Stoneburner	1	10	0	Chas. Engle		6	—
Ludwig Engelhardt		15	—	George Palmer		5	—
Henry Slingluff		10	—	John Leibert		7	6
Philip Weber		7	6	John Johnson, Jr.		7	6
Geo: Schreiber		15	—	Christian Schneider		4	—
John Koch		10	—	John Adolph		2	6
John Engle		12	—	Killian Wice		10	—
Peter Keyser		10	—	Michael Lippert		7	6
Peter Cave		15	—	Jacob Hall		10	—
Jacob Knorr		7	6	Alexander Mack		5	—
Justus Fox		7	6	John Clark		7	6
John Knorr		10	—	Edward Langstroth		5	—
Jacob Moyer		10	—	John Rex		7	6
Nathaniel Schreiber		7	6	Wighart Miller		10	—
Melchin Meng		5	—	William Houlgate		7	6
Julius Kerper		2	—	Albrick Zollinger		10	—
Christopher Ottinger		15	—	George Walter		5	—
John Ottinger		10	—	Michael Keyser		7	8
Rudolph Ebright		7	6	Jacob Engle		10	—
Abraham Rex		10	—	Martin Beck		5	—
Rudolph Gettinger		7	6	Peter Leibert		7	6
Paul Engle		10	—	Christian Huber		5	—
John Frees		7	6	Joseph Ferree		5	3
Christian Duy		5	—	Thomas Langstroth		5	—
Samuel Mechlin		5	—	John Palmer		5	—
Simon Vogelgesang		5	—	Jacob Trout		2	1
Jacob Schneider		5	—	George Werner		5	—
Chas. Bensel		5	—				
John Johnson Sr.	1	10	—		£23	16	6
Mathias Knorr		5	—				

The above amount of £23 16*s.* 6*d.* was collected by John Knorr and Justus Fox the appointed collectors, and paid into the hands of George Schreiber and Peter Keyser who were appointed overseers and managers of the Burying Ground, &c.

These gentlemen, Messrs. Schreiber and Keyser, having received the money went on with the building of the wall, and on the 28th day of July, 1777, a settlement was made of their account after the wall was finished, in which it appears that there was a balance in the hands of said accountants of £1 5*s.*

The settlement was made in the presence of

Ludwig Engelhardt	Jacob Engle
Philip Weber	Christian Duy
John Knorr	Jacob Knorr.

From this time, 1777, up to the present day, there has been no change or improvement in the ground. Burials still go on, and many removals have taken place. The management has been kept by the descendants of the old members, with additions of new purchasers of lots; and overseers have been appointed as the old die off or move away; and at present, as well as for the past few years, it has been in charge of Samuel Nice and Joseph Channon, both descendants from the old line.

From the register that is now in the hands of these overseers, no account of the burials previous to 1756 is to be found, although the records of the organization and meetings and accounts are in good preservation.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century a stone schoolhouse was built in a triangular lot adjoining this ground on the southwest line, which was called the Concord Schoolhouse. From the proximity of this house to the ground it came to be called the Concord Burial Ground. Which name it popularly bore for many years.

In 1756 George Schreiber commenced a regular account of the names and dates of the burials as they took place thereafter. His first entry is on the 28th of June, 1756, with a child of Jacob Traut. During that year ten bodies were buried therein, all children but one, the wife of George Palmer. He was not particular to get the names of the wives and children, and entered them as so and so's wife or child

as it may be. For instance, June 20, 1756, the Catholic man's son.

Up to about 1800 the erection of tombs was not frequent; only a few families who seemed to care or deemed it proper to mark the last resting places of their departed ones. Many have been buried whose place has become obliterated, and at present no one can say where they rest.

From this list in the book I find the following record of burials each year, and the names of those over whom no stone is found to mark the grave. Those having tombs will come in the regular alphabetical list attached hereto as taken from the stones.

In 1757—12 *bodies interred* among which

Feby. 1. Henry Friederich.
Aug. 18. Jacob Meyer.
Oct. 16. The Catholic Man's wife.

1758.—*Eleven burials.*

Jany. 6. The Catholic Man from Chestnut Hill.
" 16. The wife of Dr. Otto.
Feby. 20. Catherine Diemerin.
Feby. 23. John Frederich Ax.[1]
" 26. Christina Hassin.
Apr. 22. Margaret Sellin.

1759.—*Fourteen burials.*

May 26. George Ax.
June 19. Geo. William Unverzagt.
Aug. 28. Henry Straub.
Oct. 29. Susanna Bussertin.
Nov. 27. Phillipina Dietrich.

1760.—*Thirteen interments.*

Two women, the rest children.

1761.—*Seven burials.*

Feby. 12. "Shoemaker" Sontag.
Mar. 13. Henry Meyer's wife.
Sept. 8. Henry Frederich's wife.
Oct. 8. Ist der alte Knor begraben.

1762.—*Fifteen burials.*

Jany. 11. John von Erden.
June 24. William Ottinger.
July 5. Simon Siron's wife.
Nov. 22. Baltzer Traut.
Dec. 3. Casper Schreiber.

1763.—*Ten interments.*

Jany. 20. John Channel.
Feby. 8. David Sauter.

[1] The first superintendent.

1764.—*Twenty-one burials.*

15 children—6 women.

1765.—*Seven burials.*

Aug. 7. Lorenz Belitz.
Sept. 30. Henry Schneider.
Oct. 7. Bartholomew Benninghausen.

1766.—*Sixteen interments.*

Aug. 28. Henry Meyer.
Sept. 25. Henry Schneider's wife.

1767.—*Four burials.*

1 woman and 3 children.

1768.—*Ten burials.*

Feb. 29. Frederich Ax.
June 14. George Bickes.
Oct. 25. Christopher Wiedman.

1769.—*Thirteen burials.*

Oct. 15. Paul Engel's wife.
" 26. Henry Schlingluff's wife.
Dec. 4. William Palmer, Jr.

1770.—*Fifteen interments.*

Feby. 21. William Palmer.
Aug. 10. John Weber.
Nov. 6. Peter Ax.

1771.—*Fifteen burials.*

Jany. 7. Adam Schreiber's wife.
Feby. 24. John Wills' wife.
June 19. Elizabeth Raabin.
Nov. 7. Christian Edel.

1772.—*Fourteen burials.*

Jan. 7. Johannes Debis' wife.
" 10. Frantz Grass.
July 14. Johannes Kehrbach.
" 14. Leonard Schweitzer.
Aug. 5. John Engel's wife.
Sept. 2. Jacob Dieterich.
Nov. 2. Ist der alte Kraut begraben.

1773.—*Thirteen burials.*

Mar. 31. John Lehman.
May 11. Anna Ebrecht.
July 21. John Unverzagt.
Nov. 25. Anton Schneider.

1774.—*Nineteen interments.*

Jany. 30. Berbel Hinnen.
Feb. 16. Julianna Machinetin.
May 21. Henry Wilhelm.
Aug. 20. William Fuchs.
Nov. 1. John Brotthaus' wife.

1775.—*Twenty-one burials.*

Jany. 24. Lorentz Belitz.
May 14. Albert Debis' wife.
June 21. Jacob Kincker.
Oct. 20. Ulrich Zollinger's wife.
Dec. 1. Johannes Baumann.

1776.—*Seventeen burials.*

Jan. 27. Gottfried Bush.
Feby. 12. Hans Nüssli's wife.
Mar. 6. Jacob Bossert.
Apr. 30. Lorentz Schweitzer (aged 95 yrs. 8 mos. 5 days).
Oct. 1. John Schlingluff's wife.

1777.—*Twelve burials.*

Jan. 17. George Schönich.
Feby. 9. Martin Schnabel.
Mar. 31. Patrick Bryon.
Sept. 3. Peter Schlingluff.
" 16. Hans Nüssli.
Oct. 5. John Lehman.

1778.—*Seventeen interments.*

Jan. 9. John Hartrampf's wife.
" 18. Daniel Henrich's wife.
" 23. Garrett Deerstiess.
Oct. 8. John Dengler.
Nov. 6. Patrick Bryon's wife.

1779.—*Fourteen burials.*

Feby. 5. John Neisen's wife.
June 23. Nittschert Raab.
Aug. 8. Christian Huber.
Dec. 15. Henry Schlingluff.

1780.—*Nine burials.*

Feb. 24. Conrad Guth.
July 18. Ludwig Engelhart's wife.
Sept. 14. Abraham Kerper.

To this date the record was kept by George Schreiber, who wrote only in German, and the German names are spelled in their proper manner. He no doubt giving it up on account of age and debility, for he died two years after this, and is buried in this ground with his co-overseer for so many years, Ludwig Engelhard, who died the same year.

After this the register is kept in English, and we begin at once to see the changes in the spelling of the old German names.

1781.—*Nine burials.*

Jan'y 8. Paul Shryber (Schreiber?)
April 15. George Palmer.
April 23. Old Aplona out of the poorhouse.
Sept. 12. Henry Dewees, Jr.'s wife.

1782.—*Six interments.*

July 17. John Lowry.
Nov. 13. Ulrich Zollinger.

1783.—*Fourteen burials.*

Feb'y 28. Ludwig Engelhart.
July 30. Melchior Meng's wife.
Oct. 24. Daniel Bowman's wife.
" 24. Betzey Houlgate.

1784.—*Nine burials.*

Mar. 2. Jacob Clime.
Sept. 21. Jeremiah Trout (Traut).
Sept. 22. John Schneider.

1785.—*Fourteen burials.*

July 11. John Bowman's widow.
Sept. 26. Barbara Knorr.
Nov. 18. John Schlingluf.

1786.—*One interment.*

Mar. 12. William Engle's wife.

1787.—*Fifteen burials.*

Feb'y 24. Christian Duy's wife.
June 19. Winard Ax.
" 20. Abraham Paul.
June 21. James Mathew.
Dec. 27. Mathias Diel's wife.

1788.—*Eleven burials.*

Jan'y 1. Hannah Lehman.
" 5. Jacob Engle's son Edward.
Feb. 26. Chas: Francis' Father.
Mar. 8. Abraham Paul's wife.

1789.—*Ten interments.*

Mar. 28. Mary Busert.
Dec. 1. Gideon Bright.
Dec. 1. John Sibin.

1790.—*Twelve burials.*

Feb. 12. John Nice Coyer.
July 9. Fred^{k} Thomas.

1791.—*Eighteen burials.*

Feb'y 17. John Palmer.
May 22. Simon Fogelgesang.
" 30. John Kerbach.
Aug. 22. David Evans.
Dec. 4. John Lehman's wife.

1792.—*Nine burials.*

June 14. Sophia Fisher.
July 1. Henry Plain's wife.
July 21. Daniel Horn's wife.
Nov. 4. James Starn.

1793.—*Fourteen interments.*

Jan'y 22. Peter Stroup.
Feb. 5. Philip Weber's wife.
" 5. Juliana Poet.
" 20. Rudolph Kittinger.
June 1. Thomas Canel's wife.
June 7. John Gibb's wife.
Sept. 4. Cunrad Schweitzer.
" 14. Christian Grosscop.
" 23. Wm Mullenex's wife.
Dec. 22. Jacob Schneider.

1794.—*Eight burials.*

July 12. Hannah Colladay.

1795.—*Eight burials.*

Sept. 14. Philip Weber.
Oct. 11. Rudolph Kittinger's wife.

1796.—*Thirteen interments.*

April 1. Edward Bright's wife.
" 24. Albert Davis' wife.
July 9. Hannah Jones.
" 24. Michael Dicker.

1797.—*Twelve burials.*

Apr. 22. Christopher Brust.
Oct. 8. William Engle, Jr.
Oct. 19. Hugh Stephens.

1798.—*Thirteen burials.*

Aug. 21. Mr. Davison's wife.
Sept. 25. Christian Duy.

1799.—*Nine burials.*

Feb. 2. William Saxton's wife.
April 17. Israel Englis.

FRANKLIN AND THE STAMP ACT.

[When the Stamp Act was passed, Franklin wrote to Charles Thomson: "Depend upon it my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act no body could be more concerned in interest than myself to oppose it sincerely & heartily. But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims to Independence & all Parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down my Friend and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and Industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliament. If we can get rid of the former we may easily bear the latter." When he wrote this he certainly had no idea of the storm that the "Act" would raise in America and accepted it as a Law which *must be obeyed.* The frugality and industry he proposed to practise are set forth in the following letter to his partner David Hall, dated about one month after his letter to Thomson.—Ed.]

London, Augt 9, 1765.

Dear Mr. Hall:

I received yours of June 21 & 22. I have wrote my Mind fully to you in former Letters relating to the Stamp Act, so that I have but little to add except what you desire